

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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~~SO CLOSELY GUARDED~~

## POOR-LAW BILL.

THE next *Register* will contain a second letter to Lord RADNOR, and the *Register* of the next week, or the week after, will contain a third letter to him on the same subject. The first letter is now republished in a pamphlet, price twopence, and may be had at BOLT-COURT. I have sent five hundred of them to be distributed in Berkshire and Wiltshire; and I send, besides, to all my correspondents, to whom I write, in every part of the kingdom. It does not become me now to speak of this *act of Parliament*, as I spoke of the *bill*; but, every thing that I can lawfully do, I will do to prevent its being put in execution; and, if I have life and health, I will move for its repeal as soon as the Parliament shall meet again, unless some other member shall immediately give notice of such motion.

I applaud the protest of Lord KENYON. Of all the eight lords, as far as they go; but, I applaud the protest for all the seven reasons, and the whole of the protests reflects infinite honour on the noble lord, KENYON, who drew it up.

It is very curious that Lord ALTHORP should have acknowledged, as he did, upon our discussing the amendments proposed by the Lords, that "he must be a bold Minister who would venture to bring in the same bill again." What! persevere in it now, and acknowledge at the same time, that he could not venture to bring it in again. So that the same bill would not do, we having now had time for reflection and inquiry; though, even up to that day,

I myself did not know that Lord RADNOR's eulogised parson, LOWE of BINGHAM in Nottinghamshire, had had his stocks put on one of the *contented* ~~rich~~ ~~poor~~ ~~and that he merely avowed that they did it, because he could not give them relief without putting them into the workhouse~~; and that all this was proved in a court of justice; and that, though one of the men was found guilty, *he was recommended to mercy, and not executed*. We did not know this even up to the day when we were discussing the amendments.

Upon this last occasion Mr. RICHARDS had the manliness to acknowledge, that during the progress of this bill he had completely changed his opinion, and that he now voted against it. And it was curious to behold the scene on this day. The feeling of the whole House was hostile to the bill. Its former supporters were dumb. Out of a hundred members twenty-four voted against it, nine of whom spoke against it, while not one single word was uttered in defence of it, except by Lord ALTHORP himself; though, upon the second reading there were but twenty members out of four hundred to vote against it! And, is a bill going forth thus protested against; is this bill, which makes an actual revolution, to go into effect. When it is now notorious to every man, that the House of Commons never would have passed it, had it not been taken by surprise. The truth is, that that House was deceived all the way through. However, as I shall discuss the whole matter in the three letters to Lord RADNOR; and as I shall take care to make them notorious as the sun at noon-day, I will say no more upon this subject at present.

## PROTEST OF THE LORDS.

"PROTEST AGAINST THE PASSING OF THE POOR-LAWS' AMENDMENT BILL.

- ∴ " Dissentient,
- ∴ " 1. Because this bill is unjust and cruel to the poor. It imprisons in

**workhouses, for not working, those who cannot procure employment, and others for not maintaining their families who cannot, by the hardest labour, obtain wages sufficient to provide necessities for their wives and children, although the want of employment and the low rate of wages have been occasioned by the impolicy and negligence of the Government.**

" 2. Because the present rate of wages, insufficient as it is, cannot be sustained, or employment found for the poor, or their condition materially improved, without ameliorating the condition of the Irish poor.

" 3. Because we think that no necessity or sufficient expediency has been established to justify the withdrawing of the power of executing the Poor-laws from the local authorities, and transferring them to a Board so constituted as proposed by the bill, and possessing the arbitrary powers conferred on three Commissioners appointed, and removable, by the Crown.

" 4. Because we think the system suggested in the bill, of consolidating immensely extensive unions of parishes, and establishing workhouses necessarily at great distances from many parishes, and thereby dividing families, and removing children from their parents, merely because they are poor, will be found justly abhorrent to the best feelings of the general population of the country; and especially, inasmuch as it introduces the children of the agricultural poor to town poor-houses, it will conduce greatly to the contamination of their moral principles, and be calculated to prevent their obtaining in youth those habits of industry most likely to be beneficial to them in after life.

" 5. Because the alteration of the law of settlement is calculated to operate unjustly, and to lead to still more extensive removals and more intricate lawsuits than the law as at present existing.

" 6. Because the alterations made in the bastardy laws are inconsistent with the principles of Christianity on which the Parliament of the united empire has always professed to proceed, since both

parents being equally bound by those principles to maintain their offspring, the father, being more able to contribute to that maintenance than the mother, ought to pay more largely, whereas by this bill he is all but exonerated from any such obligation.

" 7. Because we consider that nearly all, if not all, the evils which may have existed in the administration of the present laws might have been corrected by a short act, securing the due administration of the Poor-laws under the control of the existing magisterial and other local authorities.

" KENYON.

" ROMNEY.

" WYNFORD.

" MOUNTCASHEL.

" TEYNHAM.

" For the 1st and 6th reasons:

" PENSHURST.

" For the 4th and 6th reasons:

" H. EXETER.

" ROLLE."

## GET GOLD! GET GOLD!

### EXCELLENT NEWS,

FROM THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA!

My readers know my opinion that, unless this THING (for it is still a THING, notwithstanding the bit of a reform); unless this THING can destroy the American government and American freedom along with it, this THING itself must come down, and we must be free too, in spite of poor-law " amendment" bills, in spite of the projects of PETER THIMBLE, MALTHUS, and CARLILE; notwithstanding the THING has a thundering standing army of a hundred thousand men; and notwithstanding the practice of flogging is upheld in that army. Whoever shall read my History of the Regency and Reign of George the Fourth, which will be published in two volumes on the last day of this month, will see exhibited in that history twenty years of

efforts to accomplish the destruction of the government and the freedom of America. After the battle of WATERLOO our base press openly inculcated the necessity of making France have a great debt and paper-money, and a great bank. More caution was necessary with regard to the United States ; but the thing, most prodigiously drubbed during the war, seeing no hope of destroying freedom in America by arms, set to work to accomplish it by the means of a national bank, established through the instrumentality of a corrupt West Indian of the name of DALLAS, who had been citizenized in America a great many years, and who had long been the tool in the hands of a most corrupt and villainous governor of PENNSYLVANIA.

It was soon discovered, that the principal shareholders in this concern were English, and the greater part of them lords and ladies, getting the money out of our taxes ; and that the bank was, in fact, neither more nor less than a "*branch*" of our THING here. This being discovered by the virtuous and brave President, JACKSON, he resolved to stifle this monster of a bank. My readers are well acquainted with the nature and progress of his efforts. He was going on, smiting the monster hip and thigh, wherever he could come athwart it. He was driving away the paper before the silver, as the blessed sun drives away the pestiferous fogs. But dollars are heavy, and people in America have money in their *pockets* ; and they wanted *gold* ! But, how to get it ? for, my readers should be informed, that gold never has been in circulation in any part of that immense country since the country was first discovered. In this state of things, it being next to impossible to do away with the immense mass of paper without bringing in gold, it was necessary for the rulers of that country to discover a mode of bringing the gold from Europe ; for, wonderful as it may seem to the English reader, the rulers of that republican country have *heads* upon their shoulders, and heads with *brains* in them too.

Being thus set out with heads and with brains, they quickly found out a way of making the sovereigns go from England to America ; and now let me explain how they did this. The standard circulating coin in that country is the silver dollar, which dollar is supposed to contain a hundred parts, which are called *cents*, *cent* being an abbreviation of *centime*, which means a hundredth part. According to their law the English sovereign was to pass for four dollars and forty-four centimes. They, in order to get the sovereigns from England, altered their law, and made the sovereign pass for four dollars and eighty-four centimes, adding to its former value forty centimes, which is about an *addition of one shilling and ten pence farthing*. So that, I, having a sovereign here in London, can, by sending it to America, gain one and ten pence farthing ; and, if a gain of three half pence upon a sovereign will send our sovereigns to France, as it always does, the sovereigns will keep on sailing for America, until we get rid of so much of our paper-money as to make the sovereign worth as much here as it is there, and that it is not at this time ; because it is, in fact, pulled down from its real value by circulating side by side with the base paper-money.

Now then, what is to happen here ? Why our THING must *diminish its quantity of paper*. By diminishing its quantity of paper it can check the wandering disposition of the sovereigns. There is pretty good evidence to show that about a million of sovereigns have already gone across the sea, many of which are circulating about the United States. I state upon very good authority that two hundred thousand louis d'ors (each worth about eighteen shillings of our money) had, from Paris, travelled the same way more than a week ago. While this is working us, it is working Portugal at the same time. In order to preserve coin in that country our most faithful friend, Don PEDRO, has raised the value of gold ten per cent. This draws gold into PORTUGAL, in order that it may have it to protect itself against America ; and it is from this



country that the principal part of the gold must go to Portugal as well as to America!

Well, then, what will be the consequences here? The Bank must get in its power all the money in the country, and pay it in gold. If I get in power, sufficient extent to enable me to credit the country with gold in its hand, then the quantity of circulating money will be so greatly diminished, as to bring down the price of wheat to about THREE SHILLINGS AND SIXPENCE A BUSHEL; beef to two shillings a stone; and bacon to five shillings a score; cheese to three-pence a pound, and butter to a groat; and then the fundholder will receive six times as much as he ought to receive; but this cannot be, and the whole system will blow up.

In my letter to Mr. TIERNEY, written in Long Island, in 1818, I said that a bill like Peel's bill (which bill was passed the next year, in spite of my predictions) "would bring wheat down to five shillings the bushel;" but, said I, "though I name five shillings, I beg to be understood not as saying that that will be the lowest; for I think it very likely that it would come down to three shillings and sixpence." People thought I was *romancing*, and the swellings, which the Almighty, for our sins, had been pleased to place upon the shoulders of our rulers, having, on one side, features fixed on to them, sneered and sniggered, and, as far as such things could do it, expressed contempt of the prophet and of his prophecy. Nevertheless, the five shillings came, though the bill was, in fact, repealed for the better part; and now who will say that the three and sixpence will not come? If it do come, and without that equitable adjustment which I have been so long recommending, down will come tumbling this nobility, this church, and this famous form of Government; and to make this equitable adjustment, is actually to proclaim me, WILLIAM COBBETT, the man, and the only man, able to settle this mighty affair, rather than which, all that belong to the THING will exclaim: "Let both worlds meet: let chaos come again; let darkness be

"the burier of the dead!" while I, sitting quietly at my farm, shall say, Exclaim away, and the devil exclaim along with you!

There is, however, one way of parrying the blow of the Yankees. It is this: repeal Peel's bill altogether, and put out the one-pound notes again; and make them a legal tender all over the kingdom! Oh, God! And will the THING do this? Will it do *this*? Will it give me this triumph? Yet, it has a choice of evils. The blowing up in the other way will give me a triumph as complete, and nothing can prevent my triumphing, and sitting and laughing till I nearly split my sides: nothing can prevent this but the adopting of my recommendation of an equitable adjustment; and though that would give me a triumph, too, it would give me anxiety also, and pull me constantly up to this monstrous, iniquitous, wicked, stinking, horrible town. The pleasant thing would be the total repeal of Peel's bill, and the *one pounders*! Up would go the wheat to twenty shillings a bushel; perhaps to forty. Down would come the pensioners and fundholders tumbling out of their carriages. We should see the gentlemen of Whitehall and of the "sister services," walking about in coats the seams of which would be showing their teeth; and with faces so pale and delicate, and as sharp as the sharp ends of pennyworths of cheese! The farmers with leases would be swollen out like their own bacon hogs, riding fat horses to market, and cracking their whips to the bodily fear of the inhabitants on the sides of the roads. Those without leases would make a shift to get along by persuading, or endeavouring to persuade, the labourers that a pound was still a pound, whether it be "paper" or gold. The landlords who have let upon lease would be in the situation of the gentlemen of the sister-services, but then they would lick themselves whole out of the mortgagees. What a revolution! What ruin on one side! What prosperity on the other! Thus it is to be governed by men not having such heads, and heads so furnished, as those which I

have described as existing in America. Yet, this is a better course than the three-and-sixpenny course ; if there be any *better* in the case of two things, both of which are so bad, that no words can describe the extent of the ~~evil~~.

This paper plan could not last for above a year, or a year and a half, without blowing the whole concern to atoms. And yet, if I were compelled to name a something that was most likely to take place, I should certainly say, one-pound notes and legal tender.

Leaving this matter to be decided by time, let us now look at the wise measures of the republican government of America. That truly great patriot and statesman, JACKSON (the son be it remembered of a poor Irish emigrant, without the possibility of a drop of aristocratic blood in his veins), became the President and head ruler of that commonwealth six years and a half ago. He found his country with a debt round its neck, the greater part of the fund-holders being in England. He saw that the villainous "British Bank" would destroy the liberties of his country, if he did not destroy it. He, therefore, resolved on its destruction ; but there was the debt *to pay off*, and it was just that that should be paid in the villainous depreciated paper. Having completed the payment ; having kept "*national faith*" with the English fundholding crew, who had lent to America that which they had got out of English taxes, he said, "Now, my "boys, we will have nothing but gold "and silver circulating amongst us ; and "we will make the *THING* send us "gold, that our pockets may not be "overloaded, leaving the *THING* to "get out of the scrape as it can !"

Ah ! curse these republicans for choosing rulers with heads upon their shoulders and brains in their heads ! If they had chosen men with mere swellings upon the tops of their shoulders, they would have raised the value of the money before they had paid off a farthing of the debt. They, honest swellings, would have made the people give the greedy fundholders three bushels of wheat for one, and would have boasted

of their "*national faith*," while they were robbing all the industrious classes for the benefit of the idlers.

I must not conclude, however, without endeavouring to enforce the injunction, expressed by the words at the top of the title of this article, namely,

**"GET GOLD! GET GOLD!"**

READER. What should I get *gold* for, when a five-pound note passes for as much as five sovereigns ?

COBBETT. At present they do ; but, if *one-pound notes* and *legal tender* should come, I venture to say, that a sovereign in gold will buy as much victuals, or as much clothes, or as much of any thing else, as five or six one-pound notes.

READER. But, if I owe a pound, the paper is as good to pay the debt with as the sovereign.

COBBETT. Just as good. I give you the recommendation, on the supposition, not that you owe money, but that you have got money, or have got an *annuity*, or *mortgage*, or *pension*, or *retired allowance*, or *sinecure*, or *stock*, the nominal value of which is always the same.

READER. But, how shall I gain by selling these, or any of them ?

COBBETT. I will show you. Suppose you have a pension for life of a hundred pounds a year, and suppose the calculators to determine that your life is worth ten years' purchase. Then, without troubling ourselves with the interest, your pension being a "*vested interest*," and being as "*safe as the Bank*," it will . . .

READER (*interrupting*). And safer, too, if you be right.

COBBETT. No, not safer ; but just as safe ; for be you assured, that the pension hangs upon the Bank, just as completely as the black wool hangs upon the head of a nasty stinking negro.

READER. Or as a scab hangs upon the cheek of a half-rotten old rake.

COBBETT. Yes, yes, yes ; but, I was about to say, you being invested with the pension for life, and the life being deemed worth ten years' purchase, your pension, not speaking of the interest, is worth a thousand pounds ; and a thou-

sand sovereigns you can get for it, if you have a mind to sell it ; and I advise you to sell it, and go and get the thousand sovereigns, which you can do now, and either keep the sovereigns by you till the one pounders and legal tenders come, or lay them out in land or house.

**READER.** But will not my pension sell for a thousand pounds after the one pounders come ?

**COBBETT.** Yes ; it will sell for a thousand *one pounders*, to a certainty.

**READER.** Well, then, if I can get the thousand pounds after the one pounders come, why should I sell now ?

**COBBETT.** (*Laying hold of his ear and giving it a gentle pull*). Now, mark me. You can always get the thousand one pounders ; but the thousand one pounders will not purchase you a quarter part of as much victuals, drink, clothing, or lands, as the thousand sovereigns will now.

**READER.** Why should that be, Cobbett ?

**COBBETT.** Because the prices of every thing will be raised. A bushel of wheat will be twenty shillings : an acre of land that you can buy for twenty sovereigns now, you must give a hundred one pounders for ; and (*seizing hold of both his ears*) do look at me and mind what I say, your pension will always be the same *nominal* sum. You now get a hundred sovereigns a year ; you will then get a hundred *one pounders* a year ; and . . . . .

**READER.** Oh, my God ! I begin to see !

**COBBETT.** You do, do you ! And the devil is in you I think, if you don't.

**READER.** But, I have my *property* in the *funds*.

**COBBETT.** *Property* d'ye call it.

**READER.** Yes : it is property, isn't it ?

**COBBETT.** A devilish droll sort of property, that is worth a sovereign to-day, and may not be worth a penny to-morrow. Grammarians tell us, that a noun is the name of something which we can see, feel, hear, or smell. This "*property*" of yours seems not to be a noun, at any rate. But the definition of grammarians is defective ; for there are nouns, which represent things which

have a mere ideal existence ; such as envy, scorn, wrath, and the like ; and, if yours be property, it is of this ideal description.

**READER.** But do you mean to say, then, that I have *nothing* in the funds ?

**COBBETT.** I not only mean to say it, but I do say it. The Government has entered into an engagement with you, to pay you something every year out of the taxes ; and, as long as it can raise the taxes, it may, if it pleases, continue to pay you this sum every year, and it is a very pretty sort of property which rests upon these two contingencies ; first, that the Government will have the will ; and next, that it will have the ability to pay you.

**READER.** What ought I to do, then ?

**COBBETT.** What ought you to do, why to sell your stock, to be sure, to any greedy fool that will buy it ; the fool will give you bank-notes for it ; and you can now carry them to the bank and get gold in exchange. You will get a sovereign for every pound of stock ; and, if legal tender come, you may, perhaps, not get a shilling for every pound of stock.

**READER.** But will they defraud the "*public creditor*" then ? Will they be guilty of such a shameful "*breach of national faith*" ?

**COBBETT.** By no means ; they will be honest as the day, and true as the sun : they will count you down your dividends as honestly as possible.

**READER.** Well, then, what need I care, so long as I get my dividends ?

**COBBETT.** Why, you fool, you jack-ass, you brute beast, you worse than calf or sheep, do you not see that they would pay your dividends in one pounders, which you could not get changed into sovereigns without giving for one sovereign five one pounders, or thereabouts ; do you not see, that those dividends, which now enable you to swagger about like a pensioner or sinecure lord, would be so lessened in value as to make you glad to creep into a farm-house at Christmas to get a cut of a spare rib ? Do you not see that

whereas you know hiccup from fulness, this change would make you hiccup from emptiness, and bring upon you that calamity which you and the whole race of you dread more than you dread the wrath of heaven, or the fires of hell; namely, the calamity of being compelled to earn your bread, instead of gormandizing upon the fruit of the labour of others.

One would imagine that it is utterly impossible for even a negro not to understand this; for it not to penetrate into his skull, though it be proof against a sledge-hammer. However, there are few white people so excessively stupid as this; and as gold becomes scarce, they will seek to secure it in their possession. When they do this to any considerable extent, one of the events contemplated above must come: for one or the other I pray most earnestly; because I am sure that, as long as paper-money shall exist to any considerable extent, this country never can know any thing of its ancient freedom; and, without that freedom it can be neither great nor happy.

This prospect of good we owe, in great part, to the American President, and to his humane, brave, just, and sensible constituents, the people of America. It was hoped by the malignant thing, that a "damned aristocracy," as GOLDSMITH calls them, would be created in the United States; and that there would be the example of their slavery to hold in terrorem to us; the THING hoped to be able to induce the transatlantic aristocracy to surround itself with a mercenary army, and a mercenary police, and that then it would have to exclaim, "See what is produced by universal suffrage and voting by ballot!" This is what the THING hoped: its malignant hopes have been blasted for ever; and we now hear from our brethren on the other side of the Atlantic: we now hear echoed and re-echoed throughout the dominions of that famous republic, the motto, "HICKORY, HOME-SPUN, AND HARD MONEY;" the former, which is the name of the toughest of wood, meaning the brave and wise President; the se-

cond, inculcating the precept of plain dresses made at home; and the third, meaning real money of gold and silver to supplant the base and fraudulent paper-money. Let this then be our standing toast; let us, who wish to see England once more what she once was, take as our toast, our motto, our watch-word, "HICKORY, HOME-SPUN, AND HARD MONEY."

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. Amongst other effects of the gold and silver work in America will be the draining of a great part of the silver, and of all the gold (if there be any) out of Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Bermuda, the Bahamas, and all the West India Islands. Our North American territory is all over-run with base and infamous paper-money, propped up by the national bank of the United States. Chaos will come there, unless real money be sent out from here. New Brunswick and Nova Scotia have their victuals, their cabbages, their peas, their cherries and their eggs from the United States. No longer able to get these for paper-money, they must now give specie, and we must send it out to them. I said a year ago, that President JACKSON had the power of doing more good than any other man that ever lived in the world, since the days of the Apostles. Oh! what agony he is producing in the breasts of the base enemies of the freedom of his country, and the freedom of ours! It is not a little gratifying to me to reflect that I am thought worthy of the execrations of the paper-tribe in America. If they will but ascribe to me a tenth part of the achievement, I desire no other mark of honour whereby to be remembered. To be thought, only to be thought, to be hated by that base and deadly crew, whose hearts are made of fraud, whose money is their God, who have no other God, and who have no country at all; the bare rumour that I am abhorred by them is an honour as great as I can possibly covet.

## THE PARLIAMENT

WILL be prorogued before this will come from the press. On Wednesday night a sort of parting explanation took place. Amongst other things I asked my Lord ALTHORP whether we might be assured that nothing would be done by the Government in our absence *having a tendency to alter the value of the circulating money*. His answer was, "that he believed that it would not be legal to do such a thing." And I knew that as well as he; but I also knew that the thing had been done without the assistance of Parliament, in 1797; and that pretty nearly the same had been done in 1826; and I know that, if we do come to one-pound notes again, and legal tender (and many persons think that we shall), I know that it must be done by order in council; unless it be wished to enable this hellish town to rob all the rest of the kingdom, which it is impossible that any one can wish, except he actually come out of hell, casting off his horns and putting on a broad-brimmed hat. I cannot say that I ever saw the devil myself; but in America where they appear to see him more frequently than we do here, they say that since this bank quarrel, which is working us so sweetly, the old gentleman has changed his costume, and put on that of the unbaptized buttonless blackguards, and that he may be seen in these habiliments, in Wall-street, NEW YORK, or in Chestnut-street, PHILADELPHIA, at any time between half-after eleven and half-after twelve at midnight.

Several notices of motions for the next session were given; amongst others, I gave notice that, unless the Government instituted a full inquiry into the abuses of the navy, appertaining to the mode in which numerous officers had obtained their commissions, I should take a very early opportunity of bringing the whole matter before the House at the meeting of Parliament. And my readers may be assured that this is a subject that must command great attention.

Some questions were put to Dr. LUSH-

INGTON, relative to the reports made, and about to be made, by the church-commissioners of England. I observed to him that there appeared to be between three and four thousand of the livings in England and Wales yielding very small amount to the incumbent, while the tithes of the parishes amounted to immense sums; and that I wished to know whether it was the intention of the commissioners to inform us who it was, in each case, that took away the incomes from the working clergy; whether the incomes were taken away by clerical corporations, by clerical dignitaries, or by lay-impropriators? His answer was, that that which I wished to have would be furnished me as far as related to the clergy; but not as far as related to the lay-impropriations. This is a matter of great moment; on the measures which we shall adopt with regard to this matter depends the question, whether the church shall stand or fall! There are numerous benefices which yield the incumbent less than sixty pounds a year; and some less than ten pounds a year, while the parishes yield in tithes, in many cases, from five hundred to a thousand pounds a year. Now, if we should find, which I think we shall, before we have done, that the benefices are thus impoverished by the *higher* clergy, who perform none of the duties, will any man say that this church ought to stand as it now is. My constituents may be assured that this is the true ground to go upon. The established church is the poor man's church. The law said, and still says, that there shall be *proprietorship* in house and land; but it also says, that that house and land are not to be an *absolute* possession; that they shall be *charged* with the maintenance of a church for the poor man as well as for the rich man; and that the poor man shall not be told that he should pay a parson, if he want one. I recently presented a petition from some of my constituents, and those of the most respectable character, praying for a *separation of the church from the state*, in which prayer I joined, unless the church were thoroughly reformed; and, in that prayer I shall join,

if any attempt be made to shuffle us out of that thorough reform. A separation of the church from the state means, *an abolition* at once of all the revenues of the church ; and the consequence of that would be, that the church-people would have to pay a parson out of their own pockets, and the landlords would take all the tithes to themselves ; and this I would see done, and lay a tax upon the land to the amount of all the tithes, and all the church-rates, rather than let the church remain in its present disgraceful state. The next session of Parliament will not pass over without some decision as to this important matter.

### CANT AND SPITE OUTWITTED ;

OR,

### EXPOSURE OF THE TWENTY MILLION NEGRO JOB.

THIS job was partly the creature of cant, and partly of spite. When one saw FOWELL BUXTON with the petition from two hundred and seventy odd thousand humane English females, brought into the House of Commons by the two door-keepers, and saw the dirty bundle laid upon the table amidst roaring cheers, there was ground for blushing, to be sure ; but still the thing was too monstrously beastly to appear worthy of serious attention. Voting a loan of twenty millions, however, and saddling this burdened people with eight hundred thousand pounds a year interest was another matter. That demanded something more than a contemptuous smile.

My readers will recollect that I always said, that our emancipation, as it is called, of our negroes, supposing it to be a good thing, which I always said it was not, would be of no use, unless we could prevail upon the United States of America to emancipate their blacks. There was something very suspicious in the King's speech at the last opening of the Parliament. He congratulated us on the *great work of humanity*, which we had performed in the last session ; having changed his opinion, I dare say,

since the time when he received a service of plate as a present from the *slave-traders of Liverpool* for having ABLY DEFENDED THE SLAVE TRADE IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS. Kings have a right to change their minds as well as other men ; and, therefore, I dare say his Majesty was very sincere when he uttered the words "*great work of humanity*." But, there was one ugly passage in this same speech of the King, namely, that in which his Majesty was pleased to express his "*anxious hope* that " OTHER COUNTRIES WOULD " FEEL IT NECESSARY TO FOLLOW THE HUMANE AND GENE ROUS EXAMPLE" ! BUXTON the Great, member of Parliament and brewer and slave emancipator, having brought up the matter one day, Dr. LUSHINGTON expressed a hope in conformity to the hope expressed in his Majesty's speech. Dr. LUSHINGTON never talks nonsense ; and he looked so sharp when he said this, that he seemed to me to mean that other countries would be compelled to follow the brilliant example of humanity ; I, therefore, observed, that it is exceedingly good not only to be piously humane one's self, but also to endeavour, by the use of words, and of every thing persuasive in the way of pen and tongue, to prevail upon others to be equally pious and humane with ourselves ; but that I protested against all attempts to *compel* them to be pious and humane, whether by force or otherwise ; and that I was very much afraid that, with all our piety, humanity, and disinterestedness in this case, there were persons who wished to plunge the United States of America into confusion by the performance of this pious deed ourselves.

So much by way of preface : now for some *curious facts*, to show how this cant and spite have been outwitted. For fifty years and more, there have been negro-emancipators in the United States in great abundance : they have preached and harangued and subscribed and petitioned pretty constantly during the space of that fifty years ; and the blacks have been actually freed in the New England States, and also in New

Jersey and Pennsylvania and Delaware, stopping at the state of Maryland. No notice was taken of the workings of these people, who were called abolitionists, they being for abolishing slavery. No notice was taken of them : they were suffered to carry on their cant at their pleasure, and, sometimes, they got credit for really humane and good intentions ; but (pray, hear it Mr. STANLEY, I pray hear it !), when the Americans saw the twenty million bill brought in by the very man who had just before brought in the Irish Coercion Bill, they "*guessed, you,*" that there was something besides *pure humanity* at the bottom of this twenty million bill. They had not long to hunt : they knew that the measure must be injurious to England, they, therefore, calculated that some good must be counted upon to countervail the injury ; and they saw that, if, by this measure, the THING could plunge the United States into confusion, and thereby cripple them for an age or two, the THING would really gain by the measure, though it lost the West Indies altogether.

Taking this view of the matter JO-NATHAN looked out sharp ; clapped his eye upon the abolitionists more closely than he had ever done before. In the meanwhile we heard from various parts of England, especially from the cracked skulled county of York, of missionaries about to proceed to the United States, to effect the liberation of their brother blacks there. It would not do to begin in the southern states. The pious campaign was, therefore, opened in the north. A scoundrel missionary, most likely in full pay, landed in Connecticut, a state in which there are no slaves, and a *very few* blacks. There, at the town of NORWICH, a place about the size of GUILDFORD in Surrey, he got admission to a Methodist chapel, got up into the pulpit, took up a black fellow along with him, called him his brother, and began to preach the doctrine of perfect equality, and *to reprove the prejudice and injustice, which prevented the whites from intermarrying with the blacks.* The people, who are, at once, the most gentle, the most kind, and the

most brave, in the whole world, went and took him down gently out of the pulpit, walked him out into the street, clapped a drum and fife behind him, playing the "*rogues march*" ; and thus they conducted him to the confines of the township of NORWICH, enjoining him by all means not to return into the township again upon pain of tar and feathers, and a little previous tickling on the back.

In the city of NEW YORK work more serious took place in the beginning of July, an account of which work is given as follows in the *Times* newspaper. Attend to the words in *italics*.

We received last night, through the North and South American Coffee-house, and from our Liverpool Correspondent, files of New York and other American papers, brought by the line of packet ship *Sovereign*, Captain GRISWALD, to the 17. of July. By the following extracts, it will be seen that some rioting has taken place in New York and some other parts of the Union, arising out of the question of Negro Emancipation ; among others, who have suffered wrong in the expression of popular feeling, is an individual named LEWIS TAPPAN, a gentleman who had taken an active part in the Abolition question. The first riot took place on the 7. ult., and its origin and progress are thus described in one of the papers :—

" The riot at the Chatham-chapel " seems to have grown out of the following circumstances. The New York " Sacred Music Society have a lease of " the chapel for Monday and Thursday " evenings throughout the year. Some " person, on behalf of the blacks, had " obtained from the Secretary of the " Music Society permission to occupy " the chapel last evening. The blacks " thereupon issued printed notices of " their intended meeting, which it is " said was called for the purpose of " celebrating the postponed festival of " the 4. of July. In pursuance of this " notice they met and commenced their " exercises. Certain members of the " Music Society also arrived, not knowing " the disposition which had been

"made of the chapel; but being informed of the circumstances, agreed to postpone the purpose with which which they had themselves assembled. Their number, however, being soon augmented by the arrival of other persons, they reversed their first peaceable and proper resolution, and concluded upon insisting that possession of the chapel should be given to them. The blacks, in the meanwhile, had prayed, sung a hymn, and had commenced reading the declaration of independence. They did not seem disposed, at that stage of the proceedings, to break up their meeting and retire from the chapel. One of their number rose and requested them to do so, but others called on the meeting to keep their seats. The Sacred Music Society then took forcible possession of the pulpit, and thereupon a general battle commenced, which seems to have been waged with considerable violence on both sides, and resulted in the usual number of broken heads and benches."

This fracas was followed, on the 10. and 11., by extensive and destructive riots. The friends of the blacks were denounced as fanatics, whose objects were the immediate emancipation of the negroes, and the promiscuous marriage of the two races. *Mobs*, composed of the *very dregs of the whites*, attacked the churches, the dwelling-houses, and the stores of the prominent abolitionists, which they gutted and robbed: they also attacked the dwellings and the *stores of the leading coloured people*, destroying their furniture and stealing their goods. The civil force being unable to check the career of the rioters, the mayor of the city called out the *military*; and the united powers succeeded, on the night of the 11., in putting an end to the most flagrant and *most disgraceful* outrages that ever occurred in the United States. The military paraded the streets during the day and night of the 12.: they were all furnished with *ball cartridge*, the magistrates having *determined to fire* upon the *mob*, had any fresh attempt been made to renew the riots. *Dr. Cox*,

whose church and house were gutted, and Mr. *Tappan*, whose house and store were entered and robbed, seem to have been the chief sufferers by these riots. Happily no lives were lost.

The *Daily Advertiser* estimates that the total amount of property destroyed is not less than 20,000 dollars. Seven churches have been attacked, and all more or less injured; twenty private houses have been stripped, and as many poor families of black people have had their *property destroyed*. Many black persons were obliged to remove their *furniture* and other effects, and seek safety in flight. The conduct of the black population, generally, throughout these disorders has been of the *most exemplary kind*.

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Now, reader, there are no mobs in America, and the man who writes this would get his bones broken if he were there and called the people mob. There are no "dregs of the whites." The blacks and mulattoes have no "stores," stores being great shops. There are no "military" in our submissive and servile language: they are militia coming from their own homes with their own arms. It is a lie to say that the magistrates had determined to "fire upon the people." A magistrate threatening to do it would have been hanged up at his own door. There was nothing "*disgraceful*" in the conduct of the people, who went the shortest, the most effectual, and the most humane way to work to put down these mischievous men. The blacks have no furniture and property worth speaking of; and as for this "*Dr. Cox*," he told the people that JESUS CHRIST was a *negro*; and if a little tar and feathers were too much for him, I think it strange.

At the very pretty town of NEWARK in New Jersey, which is on the west side of the north river, a scoundrelly missionary got up into a pulpit, and, like the villain of NORWICH, endeavoured to persuade the people that the two colours ought to be united by marriage. The Jersey men were not so gentle as those of Connecticut: they took the scoundrel, while he was turn-

ing his eyes up in a hymn, tossed him and the black fellow out into the street, tore up the benches, pulled down the pulpit, and demolished every thing inside of the building, and then the windows and doors; drove the beastly black-guard out of the town, with an order never to show his face there again.

It cannot be true that seven churches were destroyed in NEW YORK, or attacked. It must be seven meeting-houses, and those for the blacks most likely. At any rate, *the question is settled* in the United States; for, if this is the treatment of the fellows in the *north*, what would it be in the *south*? It has been stated in several of our newspapers, that a most magnificent hypocrite of the name of THOMPSON has sailed for South Carolina, for the purpose of preaching sermons on the text of our King's speech! A good voyage to the hypocrite and *safe arrival*, with all my heart. If he ever should return to England, he will smell of tar to the last hour of his life.

I must not conclude without a word or two on a commentary of the *True Sun* newspaper on these transactions in America.

"The New York papers of the 15. "of July bring accounts of certain most "disgraceful riots, which had just oc- "curred in that city, and which were "scarcely quelled at the moment the "last packet sailed. The object of the "rioters was to scare the advocates of "slave emancipation from their bene- "volent purpose. The institution of "slavery in North America has long "been the opprobrium of the United "States, and many have been the sneers "at Republicanism with which that "unfortunate circumstance has fur- "nished the enemies of America. The "institution of slavery, however, is as "abhorrent to the spirit of Republican- "ism as it is to the feelings of ordinary "humanity. The *institution of slavery* "in the United States is, in fact, a di- "rect and gross violation of the funda- "mental principles of the American "constitution. Slavery exists in the "United States, not because the United "States are Republics, but because they

"are not a perfect Republic. Slavery, "moreover, was created in the United "States by the English Government— "by the same power which created "slavery in our West India Colonies. "For the existence of slavery, therefore, "the citizens of the United States are "not responsible; but they are unques- "tionably responsible, and deeply too, "for the existence of *those habits of* "thinking which have given birth to "the *infamous outrages* which are re- "corded in our paper to-day. We had "thought that the influences of *educa-* "tion exercised in America a more pow- "erful sway than in any other quarter "of the world. We are sorry to find "ourselves mistaken, but instead of "referring, as Whigs and Tories in this "country will be apt to do, the preva- "lence of brutal prejudices to the pecu- "liarities of the American form of go- "vernment, we may rest assured, that "but for the mitigating influences of "the general spirit of the political in- "stitutions of the United States, we "should, in the circumstances, instead "of riots, unattended by the loss of life, "be reading of massacres and con fla- "grations on as great a scale as any "which the history of despotic and "aristocratic states records."

This *SUN*, though doubtless very TRUE in its movements, is not always quite so full of light as I could wish. These "riots," as you call them, Mr. *True Sun*, were not "*disgraceful*," any more than it was disgraceful in the Israelites to fling out the accursed thing from their camp. But, how came you, sir, so deeply read in legislative and constitutional lore, to make this capital mistake; namely, "that the institution "of slavery in the United States of "America, is, in fact, a direct and gross "violation of the fundamental princi- "ples of the American constitution": how came you, sir, to blunder upon this monstrous assertion? The second sec- tion of that constitution not only re- cognises the institution of slavery, but gives the slave-owners votes in propor- tion to the number of their slaves, al- lowing five slaves to reckon for three free men; while the ninth section allows

of the *slave trade*; that is to say, of the *importation of slaves from Africa!* Thus it is, sir, to talk without book; and a very good way this is where there is no book, but not where there is a book.

And what may you mean, sir, by those "habits of thinking," of which you speak? Habits of thinking, I suppose, that a stinking creature of a black fellow is not a fit person to be married to a white woman; and you lament that their "*education*" does not reconcile them to this mixture of colours. To the honour of the women of America, such a thing as a white woman having carnal communication with a black man is never heard of. Seldom does it occur that such communication takes place between a white man and a black woman. There are, doubtless, many instances of this; but I never knew of but one, and in that instance the man was an Englishman: he worked for me in Long Island; the black wench said she was with child by him; he did not deny the fact, and I turned the brute away. What a contrast, in this respect, between the American women and the English, whom we see strutting along the streets, hanging on upon the arms of nasty black men, whom, on a hot day, you may smell a hundred yards off. When I used to relate this in America, the women there would not believe me. I do not believe that I ever prevailed upon one to believe the fact, common as it is here to our deep and indelible disgrace.

Now, before quitting the subject entirely, let me desire the reader to observe how completely cant and spite have outwitted themselves, and how firmly resolved the Americans are, not to be enslaved or duped by us. They suffered these cracked-skull-hypocrites to go ranting about, without notice taken of them; but the moment they saw us emancipating, they concluded the gabbling devils to be missionaries from the THING, and they resolved to stifle them at once. Where these fellows are thus knocked about there is no slavery at all: all the blacks are free; but these sagacious people saw how the

troublers would work southward; and, looking upon them as missionaries from the malignant and pestiferous THING, they resolved to crush them at once, and crushed them they have.

W.M. COBBETT.

### SUSSEX MAGISTRATES.

OH! OH!

THE following pretty story, for which we are very much obliged to the writer of the letter, does not shut out the hope of my discovering something about the BATTLE conspiracy against me. There was a great galloping backward and forward to London and to-and-again to BRIGHTON; and they tell me stories about a man and his frow, and of their pretty sayings, that will be very amusing, if ever the whole thing should come to light. I honour Sir CHARLES BLUNT for the part which he has taken upon this occasion. More will come to light yet of this sort.

*To the Editor of the Brighton Guardian.*

SIR,—I have read the report, published in the *Sussex Advertiser* on the 7. inst., of the debate which took place in the magistrates' room on the subject of Lord de la Warr's motion for a vote of thanks to Mr. Mabbott, as also the article headed "From a correspondent." The first I affirm to be a very unfair and garbled detail of those proceedings; and the latter, calculated to lead the public to a conclusion very favourable to the noble Lord's motion, and equally unfavourable as to the motives of its opponents.

It is necessary that I should here state that Messrs. Cohen, Phillips, Gold, and Hallett, were the only strangers in the room during the debate, the three first named taking notes of the proceedings; and if the report published by your contemporary was furnished by any one of those gentlemen, it has undergone such alterations and curtailments that it leaves little resemblance to the original; and the only speeches reported at length, and with any degree of accuracy, being

those of Mr. Courthope, Mr. Sergeant D'Oyley, and Mr. Gear, the three gentlemen who supported the motion, I am directly led to the conclusion that your cotemporary's "correspondent" was a person officially present at the meeting, and that the report of the debate has been cut and trimmed to suit his or their purposes, and to accord with the observations of your cotemporary's anonymous correspondent.

The following are quotations from the latter of the two documents I have above noticed :—

"The speakers against the motion thought the prosecution against the publisher only made more public that, which if left unnoticed, would have passed into oblivion, and been unattended with any injurious effects; and they also opposed the motion on the ground that it was an implied censure upon those who supported the petition of Mr. Cohen for a mitigation of punishment. Thus we find in the minority five members of Parliament opposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Mabbott, because they thought the same implied a censure upon their parliamentary conduct." Again, "it was expressly, unequivocally, and distinctly stated, that no such censure was intended. The supporters of the motion only claimed a right of expressing to their brother magistrate, Mr. Mabbott, their approbation of his conduct, a similar privilege having been exercised by the opponents in supporting the petition."

The first assertion, as regards myself, is unfounded. I opposed the motion because I considered it to imply a censure upon myself for dissenting from the policy and the justice of the prosecution. I stated that, in my opinion, I was justified in the first objection by the result, and that the second and main ground of dissent rested on the defendant having, in my judgment, offered an atonement adequate to the offence, when he made Mr. C. Cavendish, Mr. Curteis, Mr. Kemp, and myself, the channel of a written communication to Mr. Mabbott, stating that he, Mr. Cohen, was not the author of the libel, but

merely the publisher of the offensive article—that it came late to his office, was inadvertently inserted, and that he was ready to apologize and retract whatever it contained offensive to the magistrates. It was upon this ground that I stated in the House of Commons that the prosecution ought not to have taken place; it was for this reason that I could not concur in the vote of thanks to Mr. Mabbott: and viewing in that vote an implied censure upon the magistrates who disapproved of the prosecution, I opposed the motion and moved the amendment.

Your cotemporary's correspondent, it would appear, considers the *justice* of the measure as wholly unworthy consideration, and altogether omits that point of my argument; and it is rather a curious coincidence, that both Mr. Courthope and Sergeant D'Oyley, who spoke at such length and with such great ability, should have also passed over unnoticed and disregarded this main ground upon which my dissent rested, namely, Mr. Cohen's appeal to the merciful forbearance of a powerful body of prosecutors.

It is further said to have been expressly stated, that no such censure was intended. It is true that the noble lord early in the debate, in explanation, said that "he had strenuously endeavoured so to word his motion as not to imply any censure;" but then the noble lord in his opening speech stated, that the vote of thanks arose from "certain expressions made use of by certain hon. gentlemen in the House of Commons, tending to show that the prosecution of Mr. Cohen was one that reflected disgrace on the prosecutors; and that it would be difficult to conceive that a body of gentlemen could sit down under an accusation like this." And the same noble lord, in his reply speech, further stated, that in consequence of my having reiterated the opinion before expressed, "he was sorry he had excluded every thing but a vote of thanks from his motion." Now, I put it to any dispassionate judge, whether the caution observed by the noble lord in framing his motion, coupled with the regret sub-

sequently admitted by him, the fact of his having gone to that meeting prepared with notes of my observations in the House, together with the tone and substance of the speeches of the two learned gentlemen, Mr. Courthope and Mr. Sergeant D'Oyley, are collectively in accordance with the positive assertion of your cotemporary's correspondent, that "It was expressly, unequivocally, and distinctly stated, that no censure was intended." I am still of opinion it was; but a candid and open avowal of such a motive would not have been in accordance with the character of the rest of the proceedings of that self-constituted committee.

Having stated as briefly as possible the reasons I gave for questioning the policy and justice of the prosecution, I proceed to make a few observations upon its origin and progress.

It appears that in November, 1832, thirteen visiting justices, including Mr. Partington, the liberal and learned chairman of the Quarter Sessions, assembled at Lewes for purposes connected with the jail. At this meeting one of the magistrates (Mr. Seymour, I believe) produced from his pocket the *Brighton Guardian* paper containing a libel on the magistracy of Sussex; a discussion followed, and the result was, that those thirteen gentlemen decided to prosecute the editor, *formed themselves* into a prosecuting committee, and selected Mr. Mabbott to be the active agent. Thus the very first step was of a character to create suspicion. If the avowed object had been the sole and real one, the regular course would have been, either to enter a notice on the agenda and have submitted the measure, (which was one of a public character, as well as one of the most delicate and the most questionable of any that can constitute the subject of a prosecution,) for consideration and adoption at the ensuing general Quarter Sessions, or by some other means to have taken the sense of the magistrates upon the subject. But to return to the progress of the prosecution. The next step of this committee was to draw up and sign a resolution; and this document

was then made the ground of an application to the Government to take the prosecution out of their hands. Mr. Mabbott and another gentleman had two personal conferences at the Home Office, which ended in the noble Lord then at the head of that office positively declining to make it a Government prosecution, but agreed to defray the reasonable expences, should the *magistrates of Sussex* decide upon prosecuting, and were of opinion that a Sussex jury would convict. This resolution, I conclude, was made known to the committee; and Mr. Mabbott received instructions to return information to the Home Office, that all the magistrates, with the exception of one (Mr. Gear), had no doubt about the jury; and he concludes the communication by observing, that the magistrates were all of opinion that "no opportunity should be lost to suppress the *Guardian newspaper*."

I will not trust myself to make any comment upon this hitherto hidden object. It at once dispels the cloud that has rendered the course pursued by the committee so indistinct and so unusual; it accounts for the rejection of Mr. Cohen's offered atonement, and well accords with that part of the sentence which imprisoned the defendant in a jail of a distant county and far removed from the office of his paper.

In addition to the foregoing, I shall merely observe that I am authorised to state that the part taken by the Government in this, I must still think, disgraceful affair, was pursued under the impression that the committee expressed the sentiments of the body of the magistrates, not aware that it was a self-constituted committee and had never been sanctioned by any public notice or special public proceeding; and that the fact of Mr. Cohen's not being the author of the libel, together with his offer of atonement, were withheld from the knowledge of the Government.

Feeling that I could no longer, with the confidence and satisfaction essential to the discharge of a very responsible duty, continue to act with gentlemen whose views of justice so essentially differ from my own, and who have fur-

ther thought proper to seek their own justification at my expense, it was with very great reluctance and regret, and because I could see no other course left open to me, that I resolved to cease to act as a magistrate; and in order to be wholly absolved from the responsibility of the office and the control of self-constituted committees, that I have made application to the Lord Lieutenant, respectfully requesting that my name may be erased from the commission of the peace for this county.

I remain, sir, yours obediently,  
CHARLES BLUNT.

Heathfield Park, 30. July, 1834.

### POOR-LAW BILL.

By the time that this comes from the press, this bill will be out of the hands of both Houses of Parliament; but it will not be out of my hands, as long as I have health in my body, until it be repealed. It will require some little time to consider what proceedings to adopt with regard to it; but if I do not hang upon its skirts, no house-dog ever hung upon the skirts of a thief. As soon as I possibly can, I will get ready the Poor Man's Bible, and then we shall see how far this bill squares with the precepts and commands of God.

### FLOGGING OF SOLDIERS.

#### MILITARY AND NAVAL FLOGGING.

At a public meeting held at the Court Hall of the ancient town of Rye, on Monday the 28. of July, 1834, at 11 o'clock in the forenoon,

William Ramsden, Esq., Mayor, in the chair,

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to, viz. :—

1. That this meeting do view with concern and regret the continuance of the practice of flogging in the British army and navy.

2. That their sentiments relative both to general humanity and the national policy of this country induce them

to exercise every lawful and rational means in their power for the abolition of the same.

3. That in order to effect this desirable object, it is expedient forthwith to petition both Houses of Parliament.

4. That the following petition be adopted:

To the right honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and to the honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.

The humble petition of the inhabitants of the ancient town of Rye, in the county of Sussex, and its vicinity,

Showeth,—That your petitioners do not wish to encourage insubordination in the army or navy.

That your petitioners do not think the punishment of flogging is the most effectual means of obtaining the subordination required, inasmuch as that the wisdom of Parliament has seen fit to reduce the amount of that punishment, and also to restrain it to particular cases of delinquency.

That your petitioners view with horror and disgust the barbarous scenes which have been exhibited in cases of flogging, and that your petitioners do humbly presume to think that when such punishment is inflicted, it is productive of more evil than good. That the notorious offender is not likely to be reformed by it, and that the inadvertent culprit may be hardened so much in his crime as to make him reckless of punishment. And besides which, they deem the effect of it not to rest entirely with the individual receiving the infliction, but to extend to the whole of the persons in his Majesty's service in the army and navy of this kingdom who by law at present are liable to the punishment, by putting a character on those services which they ought to be too honourable to bear.

That without imputing improper motives to those who hold commissions in his Majesty's army and navy, your petitioners do consider it probable that circumstances have occurred and will occur, so as some individuals might be

subjected to the punishment of flogging without deserving the same.

That this impression has taken such fast hold on the public mind as to prevent persons entering the army and navy from motives of honourable ambition, and to be at variance with the humane feelings and best judgment of the people of this country.

That without requesting your right honourable House to take example from other countries, your petitioners beg that the effective means of preserving discipline in the army and navy of this country may be distinct from the present practice of flogging; that they hail with pleasure the announcement made in Parliament by a high authority of an inquiry into the matter by a commission to be appointed; but humbly hope that the report of that commission will induce your honourable House to entirely abolish a practice which your petitioners cannot view but with horror and disgust, inasmuch as they consider it at once barbarous and impolitic.

That while the most salutary laws have been enacted by your honourable House for the extinction of the brutal system of corporeal punishment in our West India Colonies, and also the most benevolent measures adopted for the protection of the brute creation from cruelty,—your petitioners greatly regret that the human species of their own blood and their own country should not have received that protection to which your petitioners think they are justly entitled.

And for which your petitioners will ever pray.

5. That Captain Curteis, M.P., be requested to present the petition to the House of Commons; and that the honourable member be further solicited to obtain the service of some patriotic peer to present that addressed to the House of Lords.

6. That these resolutions be inserted in the *Brighton Guardian* and such London newspapers as the committee may think fit; that a subscription be entered into for paying the expense of the same and other necessary charges attending this business; and that

Messrs. R. W. Butler, Jeremiah Smith, James Russell, Robert Alce, William Ellenden, Stephen Lindridge, David Manser, sen., and John Blundell, do form such committee with power to add to their number. (Signed.)

WM. RAMSDEN, Chairman.

Resolved: That the thanks of this meeting be given to William Ramsden, Esq., the Mayor, for his kindness in convening and presiding over the same.

### POOR-LAW BILL.

The following excellent letter is taken from the *Newcastle Press*.

### TO THE INHABITANTS OF NEWCASTLE, GATESHEAD, AND THE NEIGHBOURHOOD.

*Friends and Fellow-countrymen,*

Although I have thought fit to inscribe the following address to all of you, thus generally, I wish to be distinctly understood, as not only chiefly expecting, but as chiefly seeking the attention of the working classes, and of such others only of their wealthier neighbours as being of a wiser and better mind than others of their own degree, are able to discern and venerate the claims of justice, with relation to their poorer countrymen and brethren. The notice of the rest I little wish, and still less hope for. Their very existence I would willingly, in such a case, forget; for though I am not able to respect them, I do not wish to scorn them, and would, most willingly, escape the sharp temptation which their conduct generates, at times, at least, to hate them.

Friends and fellow-countrymen, the best and noblest portion of our English constitution, is now, indeed, and vitally endangered. The principle, the sacred fundamental principle of English legislation, and of social order; the principle that every man, who, whether from misfortune, from disease, or otherwise is found unable, by his labour, to maintain himself, shall be assisted at the public charge, in due proportion to such actual inability; this sacred principle, which lies beneath the very basis of our social structure, is sought to be insidi-

ously abolished and subverted. It is for you, the people, to defend this principle, according to your own appreciation of its value. For my own part, I do not hesitate to say, that although, by the favour of fortune, I am myself amongst the class of those on whom it constitutes a charge, and who may never, according to all human chances, expect to need participation in its benefits, yet still I prize and estimate this portion of our ancient polity above all other parts of it. I was so taught by parents, who, in their turn, before, had similarly learnt from theirs. I was so taught by parsons of that church which holds, of late, far other notions upon points of public right and private duty, until at length no vested rights or interests are held inviolable, except the rights of kings to taxes and of priests to tithes. I must, however, faithfully adhere to my old notions. I still must think the people's interest in the constitution is solely through the medium of the poor-laws. I still must deem the crown and aristocracy to be chiefly useful to the public weal, as guarantees for the continuance of this most wise, humane, and Christian policy and legislation. I trust they will be found indissoluble. I pray that one may not survive the ruin of the other. But should the fates or heaven refuse to grant the object of that prayer, I think it were not hard for statesmen to conjecture, which is the portion of our institutions that is most likely to survive the others, or, if unhappily, awhile subverted, most likely, early, to revive again.

However this may be, my friends, this portion of our public policy—this grand characteristic—this splendid, this magnificent peculiarity of English life and English laws—this glorious distinction of a long-glorious land, is now, in circumstances, perilous and critical in the extreme. A bill has passed! aye, passed through all its stages in your said-to-be reformed parliament: I shame me for the share I had in such reform—and has been read, after a fruitless opposition, a second time before the Lords, which will, if passed into a law, not openly repeal the letter, but totally

destroy the spirit of this Poor-Law system—will render it, indeed a mockery—a scourge—a curse.

The objects of this measure, too, are no less hateful than are its obvious effects and tendency; they are no other than to undermine that system which its open foes dare not, too openly, assail by law, although they do not blush to openly calumniate it. The whole affair is but a covert approximation of the beastly Malthusians, the impious economists, towards the consummation of their most abhorred designs. It is the second stage in their insidious progress; for Sturges Bourne's Bill constitutes the first, towards the pious politic and Christian end, of leaving sickness, poverty, and age, and infancy to "nature's charity." How dare they mention nature with their unhallowed lips?

Observe, my friends, I do not charge these views and motives upon the movers or supporters of this bill in Parliament. I charge them only on that too notorious sect of meddling and destructive theorists, which seems, by very dint of impudence alone, to have misled the legislature into, I will not say the adoption of their execrable principles and views, but into the adoption of so many of their fatal measures. I charge them on those vain and barbarous economists, too many of them lawyers, and some of them, alas! are parsons: I charge it upon these, who acting partly as prime-movers and partly as machines or instruments; who partly as commissioners, and partly witnesses and prompters, have laid the plausible foundations of this half-mad, half-execrable project. Yes, these are they on whose suggestions, poor-laws, even though administered by hireling overseers, and often, I regret to state it, by interested and by partial magistrates, are deemed too rich a patrimony for the English poor! On their suggestions therefore are we soon to see a band of hired commissioners assembled round a CENTRAL BOARD, and building CENTRAL WORKHOUSES, or Central PRISON-HOUSES, rather, for our wretched poor. In these most prison-like receptacles, they are to order, or are, at any rate, at liberty to order, the

miserable inmates to be dressed in prison-house costume, or else to wear some badge equivalent in point of insult and of cruelty, for being poor ! And finally my friends, to cap this climax of unnatural horrors, is womanhood itself throughout the labouring classes of the land, at first most falsely, barbarously and infamously slandered ; and next, abandoned utterly, without protection or redress, to all the arts and powers of profligate seducers ; in lieu of whom, it seems they are to bear all single and alone, the total consequence in every kind ; the cost, the sorrow, and the shame !

Is this my friends, mere folly, or mere madness ; or is it blasphemy, iniquity and murder ? Alas ! I fear it is the latter. There is a terrible and systematic method in this madness of the heart, which speaks a reason and motive, shameful though they be, for all these prodigies and portents of a monstrous legislation. The men whose theories are thus at length to be invested with the sanctions and the power of law, contemplate nothing less than countervailing nature, and limiting the numbers of the human race ! They set up anti-population schemes against religion and the word of God ; they bid men to fall down and worship this obscene and hideous object of their own idolatry ; they worship him themselves with human sacrifice, and bring before his altar as its proper victims, a throng of helpless infants, of unhappy women, and of infirm, decrepit, and diseased men ! alas ! my friends, there are still darker horrors, which decency forbids me to do more than glance at, behind the curtain of this varnished scene. Monsters of wickedness as well as prodigies of folly, there are amongst the foul projectors of this purposed law, no want of men acquainted with those horrible inventions of accursed science, which teach to kill the very germ of life before it blossoms—to blight the fruit and fruitfulness of human nature ! The subject is too horrible.

Proceed, ye great reformers of the human race ! Proceed, and render earth

once more a paradise ; not verily of men, but devils.

A public meeting is intended to be held, in order to oppose the progress of this dreadful measure upon an early day. I do regret exceedingly that I shall be so far from home as to make my own attendance there a thing impossible. I take this method, therefore, to make known my feelings, and leave it, confidently, to yourselves to say, if yours and mine do not agree. If I may venture to advise you, my advice is this. Send forward a petition to the lords, and tell them this is not the way, whoever says so, to preserve their own estates, or to perpetuate their titles. Send forward, also, an address to the King, beseeching him most earnestly to finally withhold his sanction, should the Peers unhappily adopt the measure. Do these things, then, my friends, *effectually and well* ; sign them quickly ; sign them in multitude, and doubt not you will find your countrymen in general prepared to stand by you, for good and evil, in driving back to hell, from whence it came, this spawn of an unnatural and infamous philosophy.

Believe me to remain, my friends and fellow-countrymen, your ever deeply obliged and much admiring friend and servant,

CHARLES ATTWOOD.

*Whickham, 7. August, 1834.*

P.S. It affords me pleasure to observe the opposition rendered to this bill by Bishop Phillpots. Could I suppose the Bishop would regard my praise or censure, I would, respectfully, return him my most grateful thanks.

TO

PARSON MALTHUS.

*On the rights of the poor; and on the cruelty recommended by him to be exercised towards the poor.*

(Concluded from page 379).

" We love good beer very much.  
" And we will work for barley and  
" make malt ; and we will grow hops ;  
" and we will make our beer for three

" half-pence a pot. We will go to the sea-side and rake up our salt, which will not cost us more than sixpence a bushel. We will get our tea, sugar, coffee, and tobacco, from American ships, for a tenth part of what they cost us now. We will get some wine and brandy from men, whom the society-people call smugglers. We will get some rushes and dip them into our fat, and make us candles. We will boil up our grease and steep our ashes, and make us soap. All these things, and many more that I can name, are perfectly agreeable to the law of nature, and are only forbidden by the laws of society, with which, in future, thank God, we are to have nothing to do ; and our savings, which will arise from this change, will be so great as to put us out of all danger of future want.

" We shall soon have a little farm in the family ; and, though we may owe something for a while to the man who may sell us the farm, it will soon be our own. No contributions from us. You, who will perhaps be the parson of the parish, shall never put your head over our gate, nor poke your nose into our pig-sty. You may be useful to the society, perhaps ; it may think it wise to keep you and your wife and children in idleness ; but we want nothing of you, and therefore we shall keep the tenth part of the crop to ourselves. If we should want a priest, we will engage him and pay him for his work.

" As to personal service, as soldiers or sailors, we shall not need to waste our time and strength and to hazard our lives in that way. We shall be always able to defend ourselves against any body that can be supposed likely to attack us. The safety of the society is nothing to us. There may be riots or rebellions or treasons or invasions by dozens for any thing that we need care. Your proposition frees us from all duties towards the society, since it frees the society from the only duty that it had to perform towards us. It is impossible for you to point out one single advantage that society ever

" offered us, save and except that of giving us food, in case we were wholly unable to earn it for ourselves. And the society having freed itself from that duty, we owe it no duty at all ; and no duty shall it have from us."

Reply to him, Parson ! Reply to John Chopstick ! And yet John might have gone much further ; for, it will be denied by no man living except a parson, that if such an act of *outlawry* were passed against the labouring classes, the bonds of society would, as to them, be wholly broken. They would have a right to recur to the laws of nature, and to take every man of them, whatever lands and houses and goods he was able to take. The doctrine of *natural allegiance* is, that every man is bound to be faithful to the sovereign, to aid, assist, and obey him ; and for what ? Because every man receives *protection* from the sovereign ; and, that he contracts the obligation of allegiance *before he is born*, because he is *protected before he is born*. But you, hardened and impudent Parson, are for passing a law to *cast him off before he is born*, and for leaving him " to the punishment of nature."

You see the labouring classes heavily *taxed* ; you see part of the money raised from them given to swarms of lord and lady pensioners ; you see the children and other relations of the boroughmongers supported in idleness out of the taxes ; you see whole families of women and children upon the list of splendid paupers ; you see every parish with its priest's wife and her litter of children, living on the tithes ; you see millions of the people's money given away to French emigrants, some laymen, and some Popish clergy ; you see hundreds of millions of taxes squandered on war for the restoration of the Bourbons, and a debt, which never can be paid, contracted for the same purpose, and that of restoring the pope and the inquisition ; and seeing all this, you who are a Protestant priest, have the infamy to affect to believe, that the miseries of the nation are occasioned by the *labouring classes*, and, accordingly, you propose to *punish them* !

If you had not been a shallow and muddle-headed man, you never could

have supposed, that the increase of the paupers in England had been caused by the practice of affording parish relief, seeing that, at the end of *two hundred years* of that practice the poor-rates amounted to less than *three hundred thousand pounds a year*; that, at the end of another *eighty years*, they amounted to *two millions and a quarter*; and that, at the end of the last twenty years before you wrote, they amounted to about *five and a half millions* a year. Seeing that such were the facts communicated to you by authentic records, any one but a mud-headed parson, or a perverse knave, would have looked about him for causes of the increase other than the practice of giving parish relief. When any rational and sincere man had seen, that this practice of giving relief had, in the first two hundred years, not debased the people and made them improvident; when he had seen, that, during the last hundred, while the increase of taxes had been gradual, the increase of paupers had been gradual, till the enormous taxes began to be raised; and when he had seen, that the last twenty years had been so very fruitful in producing paupers; he would soon have looked out for the real causes in operation during those several intervals. But, to have stated these causes would not have pleased the boroughmongers, who had imposed the taxes, and who had livings to give to prostituted priests; and therefore, you pitched upon the *labouring classes*. They were to be *punished* for the rapacity and waste of those who had tyrannized over them, and brought them to misery. The cause of the increase of paupers has been *taxation, co-operating with a false money*. But, as this has been proved so many times, I will not now prove it again. Amongst the labouring classes there want no more proofs of this kind. *They* now know the real causes of their misery and slavery.

As to your notion of *danger* from an increase of the population of the kingdom, it is too absurd to merit serious remark; seeing that, at the end of a thousand years of the kingly govern-

ment, there remain *six or seven acres of land* to every man, every woman, and every child! However, in order to expose the follies and falsehoods of the boroughmongers as to this matter, I will here make a remark or two on it. These tyrants caused what they called an *enumeration* to be taken in 1801, and another in 1811. The tyrants wanted to cause it to be believed, that the people had *increased in number under their sway*. This would have been no *proof* of an absence of tyranny to be sure; but, at any rate, it would have been a proof that the number of their slaves had augmented. They were extremely eager to establish this proof; and to work they went, and at last put forth the population return of 1801, which made the total population of *England alone* amount to 8,331,434. Now mind, parson. In 1811 they caused another enumeration to be taken, when they made the population of *England alone* amount to 9,538,827. Bravo! Impudent mountebanks! Here is *more* than a *seventh* of increase in ten years! So that, at this rate of going on, the population of *England alone* will, in 1851 (only 32 years from this time) amount to 16,292,527; and at the close of this present century, if their *paternal* sway should continue to that time, the population of *England alone* will amount to 27,891,000. Oh! monstrous liars! And this is not all: the increase must be much greater than this; for from 1801 to 1811 were ten years of most bloody war, when not only many men were killed, but when *two hundred thousand* of the men, and those of the most efficient of papas, were always *out of the country*, either on ship board or in foreign lands. Impudent liars! The boroughmonger sway began in 1688; and if the population have gone on increasing only since that time, the population at that time could not have exceeded 2,000,000! Talk of "our Creator" indeed! The boroughmongers are the most active creators that this world ever heard of.

The second return is made very nicely to keep pace in most of its parts with the first. The *houses, families*, all increase in very *exact* proportion. But

there is one difference in the mode of making up the *lie*, which is worthy of attention, and which blows up the whole mass of cheatery. In the first return the persons were divided into three classes as to *occupations*, as follows:

1. Persons employed in agriculture.....	1,524,227
2. Persons employed in trade, handicraft, and manufacture .....	1,789,531
	—————
	3,313,758
	—————
3. All other persons .....	5,017,434
	—————

This was a damning fact for the boroughmonger system! Here were almost *two idlers* for every *one working man*! No wonder that the *labouring classes* were *oppressed*! No wonder that they were *starving*! I, in my *Register*, very often observed upon *this fact*. Therefore, when the *second* return came to be made out, care was taken to *suppress this fact*, and yet to preserve an appearance of fairness. The classes, as to *occupation*, were now stated in *families*, and not in *persons* as before.

1. Families employed in agriculture .....	697,353
2. Families employed in trade, handicraft, and manufacture.....	923,558
	—————
	1,620,941

3. All other families .....	391,450
-----------------------------	---------

This is a pretty change in the space of ten years? To be sure the families of idlers are the *most numerous*; but what a monstrous difference is here! They must amount upon *an average* to nearly 20 persons in a family, while the labourers, journeymen, farmers, and tradespeople amount to little more than *two* in a family, including *lodgers*; so that there could have been no children at all amongst these labouring classes! Take heart, parson! There can be no fear, then, of *their* overstocking the land! Oh, foolish parson! Oh, lying boroughmongers!

The returns were *ordered by borough-mongers* and *executed by parsons*; and,

of course, no truth could be expected to be found in them; but the falsehood might have been *better disguised*. This band, or rather, two bands, of liars, should have remembered the old rule: "when you have told a lie upon any subject, never speak on the same subject again!" In 1801, there were 3,313,758 persons of the labouring classes; and, as the increase upon the whole population was, in 1811, a *seventh*, these labouring classes would, in 1811, contain 3,787,029 persons. But this last return states them in *families*, of which the return says, that there were (in 1811) 1,620,941. So that, in 1811, there were, amongst the labouring and trading classes, only *two and a third part of another*; to each family, including *lodgers*; or only *seven persons to three families*!

Now, boroughmongers and parsons, take your choice; was the first return a lie; or was the second a lie? Both. It has all been a lie from the beginning to the end. It is a mere fabrication to delude, deceive, cajole and cheat the nation and the world; and the money expended to propagate the cheat ought to be, every farthing of it, refunded by the cheaters, and given back to those labouring classes, from whence the greatest part of it was taken, and to whose detestation I now leave you, Parson Malthus, and your foolish and insolent performance.

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE EDITOR OF STEWART'S DESPATCH.

(From the Dublin Stewart's Despatch.)

Sir,—As you have thought proper to publish a comment which appears in Mr. Cobbett's last weekly *Register*, on certain remarks made by me at the last meeting of the shareholders of the agricultural and commercial Bank of Ireland, I trust you will also publish the following reply to that gentleman. I am,

Sir, your obedient servant,

THOMAS DIXON.

Abilene, August 5, 1834.

TO WILLIAM COBBETT, ESQ., M.P.

Sir,—As you now seem disposed to discuss the merits of the proposed agricultural and commercial Bank of Ireland somewhat more temperately, I am induced to rely on your candour while I reply to the remarks in your last *Register*, so far at least as they refer to a speech of mine delivered on a recent occasion.

And in the first place, I trust you will be ingenious enough to admit that, to say the least of it, you were mistaken in stating that "a million of men" were necessary, according to the rules of the prospectus, to carry into effect the objects of the proposed establishment. The fact is, that the persons who have hitherto subscribed have taken from five to three hundred shares each, the average number taken being about twenty-five by each subscriber. Judging from present appearances, therefore, it is probable that the number of shareholders will not exceed forty thousand, or the twenty-fifth part of one million.

But you have challenged me to prove how the people of Ireland can gain by lending "bits of paper" among themselves, and taking interest for the same from one another.

This is the question with which you desire me to grapple.

Now, sir, it is matter of notoriety that the capital of the Bank of Ireland, which amounted originally to six hundred thousand pounds, has been increased by its own profits to three millions; that the one hundred pound shares, deposited when the establishment was formed, are this day worth two hundred and twenty-two pounds, although the proprietors have, from time to time, received large bonuses, one of which was paid a few years ago, amounting to twenty-five pounds a share, and notwithstanding they have been paid an average of nine per cent. per annum from the period when the bank was formed.

It is well known that other banks have been equally, and some of them more successful; thus, clearly establishing the fact, that enormous profits have been made, and I might add are

still making, by these establishments throughout the country.

Now, sir, I cannot imagine why the proposed "scheme" should not succeed, at least as well as any of its predecessors. You, I fancy, are not the man to deny that forty thousand persons subscribing a million of money are as likely to obtain and deserve public credit, as any half dozen or half score of persons would be, who put in their claim to public confidence. It was never pretended that the "whole people" were to "profit by lending paper money to themselves." Wild as you think us, we were not quite so visionary as to suppose that every man and woman in Ireland, rich and poor, who had twenty shillings to spare, would be likely to join the undertaking, but we were anxious to give to the lower and middling classes an opportunity of participating in the profits arising out of a business in which by reason of their scanty means, they have hitherto been unable to engage, and we are encouraged to hope that we shall thereby induce them or some of them to acquire a stake in the country, which however small will be to them important—will give them a lift in the social scale, and attach them to that social fabric which, no wonder, if in their present wretched condition, they are less anxious to uphold than to destroy. But, sir, as you will not be content, unless I go the whole length of your own hypotheses, I will suppose that *every* man and woman in the country owning property, were partners in the trade "of issuing bits of paper" among each other, or of discounting bits of paper for each other, and why may not *they* gain thereby, provided they can find a safe, profitable, and available investment, no matter where, for their gold, which these bits of paper would represent? Five sovereigns will, when thus invested, yield me five shillings a year, and if (having always occasion to carry five pounds, or their representatives in my pocket) I can make use of a bit or five "bits of paper," instead of five bits of gold, who will deny that I thereby save as much money as the gold will annually produce when

invested in the manner aforesaid? What is true in reference to five pounds holds good were the amount five millions.

Nor is it necessary that this same nation of bankers should issue only as much paper as they can pay in gold, for these "bits of paper" may, and you know daily do, represent other kinds of property as well as gold; and all this may be done by "the whole people" with a degree of security which no private banking company could ever hope to possess, and hence it follows, that the greater the capital subscribed, and, what is, perhaps, still more important, the greater the number of subscribers, the less fear of a run will there be in seasons of commercial difficulty. Were the entire community formed into one vast banking company, could not they, by their agents, transact the business as well, and as there would then be no fear of panics (the dread of small companies, realize profits as large as those which are now exclusively enjoyed by the several smaller companies composed of wealthy capitalists, and who form a part only of the aggregate body? You should bear in mind that we have here nothing but paper-money, and all we expect is either to substitute our notes for others now in circulation, or what is, perhaps, more probable, to make some addition to the present currency, of which Ireland has too little, or certainly has comparatively much less than England or Scotland.

I have now only leisure to add, that if, instead of impugning our motives, and pouncing upon us as your prey, you will meet us in the field of fair and open combat, we shall give you a hearty welcome to our hospitable shore, and treat you with that deference which a person possessing your gigantic powers of mind will, under such circumstances, have a right to expect at our hands.

I am, Sir.

your obedient servant,

THOMAS DIXON.

*August 5, 1834.*

## BERKHAMSTEAD SCHOOL.

HERE again there is some pretty person-work. I have no time to comment on it. I am very much obliged to the gentleman who sent me the papers, and who tells me that a petition on the subject was to be presented on Tuesday last by Sir JOHN SEBRIGHT; but of which petition I heard nothing, though it might be presented. I should like to know who this Mr. DUNCOMBE is, and where he resides?

Extract from the Minutes of the Relators and Committee of the Berkhemsted Free Grammar School, 21. February, 1834.

King Henry the Eighth, in the 33rd year of his reign, granted to John Incent, Dean of St. Paul's, letters patent, dated the 14. October, 1541, to erect and found a free grammar school within the town of Berkhemsted, for "the teaching of youth with all kind of good learning, to the number of not exceeding 144"; for which ample grants were made, directing after the necessary expenditure, the residue to be paid to the poor of the parish of Berkhemsted. This was confirmed by an act of Parliament passed in the 2nd and 3rd of Edward the 6th. Under these authorities a master and usher were appointed, and the Warden of All Souls, Oxford, Visitor of the School, investing him with power to admonish the master and usher, and to discharge either of them, if they fail in the execution of their office. The right of appointing the usher is vested in the master; which said master and usher are sole trustees of the estates. In the year 1805, the present master, the Rev. T. Dupré succeeded his father. In the year 1811, Mr. Duncombe (brother-in-law to the master) was appointed receiver of the rents and profits of the school estates: from the time of the said appointment, to 1832 (a period of 21 years), the rents and profits of the estates, extracted from the verified accounts of Mr. Duncombe, amount to the sum of £15,645 4 1½

The expenditure being, for the same period, as follows:

Repairs of the School, the Master's and Usher's Houses .....	£ 17 11 16 11
Salary to the Master....	5993 10 6
N. B. He has now 250 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> 9 <i>d.</i> per annum, an excellent residence, with all Government and parochial assessments paid.	
Salary to the Usher ....	2991 19 6
He has 125 <i>l.</i> 5 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> per ann., a suitable residence, with the like payment of Government and parochial assessments.	
Salary to the Receiver ..	530 1 5½
In addition to this salary the interest at 5 per cent., of the balances retained to the period of this account, amounts to 24 <i>l.</i>	
<b>Government &amp; Parochial Assessments .....</b>	<b>946 0 4½</b>
Including an annual payment of 1 <i>l.</i> 17 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> , quit rent, and stamps for receipts.	
Law Proceedings .....	2711 8 8
Incidental Expenses ....	142 4 5
Balance in the hands of the Receiver on the 5. of April, 1832 .....	618 2 3½
	<hr/>
	£ 15645 4 1½
	<hr/>

During which period of twenty-one years not one boy was taught, or any money paid to the poor of the parish of Berkhemsted, and an attempt has lately been made to expend a large sum in altering and beautifying the master's house.

On the 21. of October, 1833, by the injunction of the visitor, the master was compelled to resume his residence at the school, from his living at Willoughby, in Lincolnshire; and about the 20. of December last the usher, from his residence near Cheltenham, attended at the school for a few days previous to the holidays, for the first time since his appointment in the year 1818: he has since resigned. At present there are nine boys in the school, the admission of scholars being limited by the master to the children of residents in Berkhemsted, and the course of education to the classics exclusively.

J. CROFTS, Rector.

J. C. BROWN, Curate.

GRANVILLE D. RYDER.  
AUGUSTUS SMITH.  
J. HYDE.  
ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL.  
J. STEEL.

Further extract from the Minutes of the Relators and Committee of Berkhemsted Free Grammar School.  
21. July, 1834.

Soon after the publication of the former extract, which briefly set forth the original purpose of the above noble foundation, the misgovernment of the same, and the recent amount and appropriation of its revenues, an opportunity offered for opening a communication with the master, the Rev. Thomas Dupré, and a disposition having been evinced on his part to come to an amicable arrangement of the differences existing between himself and the public, after a long and rather laborious negotiation, into the details of which it is unnecessary to enter, all difficulties appeared at last to have been surmounted.

The result was, an understanding that all parties should apply in concert to Parliament for a new act, without which it is the conviction of the relators no effectual remedy can be applied to the defects incident to the original foundation, or any permanent security obtained for its future good management. It was at first hoped, that an act might have been procured during the present session, and an application was made to Lord Shaftesbury on the last day for presenting private bills, with the view of obtaining an extension of the time allowed by the standing orders of the House of Lords for the introduction of such measures, but his lordship did not consider the bill as one of sufficient importance to entitle the parties to the indulgence asked.

A further agreement was in consequence entered into with the master for at once carrying into effect the provisions of the proposed act, and the relators and committee had the satisfaction of reporting to the public, on the 19. of May, the terms of an arrangement, which had been assented to by the master, for the immediate opening of the school,

and which appeared highly advantageous to the public, and equitable in respect of the master's interests.

This report announced that the master had consented "to yield the point of "confining his instruction exclusively "to the classics, and to introduce a more "comprehensive and useful system of "sound English instruction," on condition that an additional usher be provided to teach the scholars writing, arithmetic, and the elements of mathematics, such branches of tuition being rarely required at the hands of teachers entrusted with the classical departments. The salary of this assistant was to be paid out of the surplus funds of the charity, for which appropriation a joint application was to be made to the Court of Chancery, and a provision further introduced in the contemplated act of Parliament, the members of the committee in the mean time undertaking to guarantee the amount of the first year's salary, that no time might be lost in opening the school through the want of such an assistant.

The report above alluded to went on to state, "Your committee have, in "concert with the master, drawn up "the course of studies to be pursued by "the scholars, who shall be admitted "into the school, which has been for- "warded to the visitor for his con- "sideration and sanction (which it re- "ceived). They have further made "arrangements for the supply of such "books and other school necessaries as "may be required on the cheapest and "most advantageous terms, and they "cannot avoid taking this opportunity "of impressing on the minds of parents "the indispensable necessity of their "children being provided with these "articles, if they intend them to derive "any real benefit from the instruction "gratuitously afforded by this endow- "ment. It being further necessary that "certain regulations should be laid "down both on this and other points for "ensuring the most effective manage- "ment and discipline of the school, as "far as existing circumstances will "admit, a table of these has likewise "been drawn out in concert with the

"master, which are submitted for "your approbation and concurrence. "Your committee are further willing, "should such be your desire, to continue "to co-operate with the master for the "removal of any difficulties that may "arise, on such principles as may be "fair and equitable to the rights and "interests of all parties concerned. "Your committee, in conclusion, ex- "press their earnest hope, that a spirit "of good-will may at length be finally "established between the master and "inhabitants of Berkhamstead gene- "rally, and take this opportunity of re- "cording their satisfaction at the dispo- "sition now evinced on the part of the "former to meet the desires of the pub- "lic. It is almost needless for them to "remark, that without the existence of "such a good understanding and conci- "liatory temper, the benefit which the "inhabitants of this town and neigh- "bourhood expect their children to de- "rive from a useful, moral, and reli- "gious education, under the auspices of "the present master and usher, must, "in a great measure, prove abortive."

This report, and the proceedings mentioned therein, had the full concurrence of the master, who was not only treated by the committee with the utmost candour and confidence, but became a party to all their measures, and from time to time suggested various alterations. An assistant usher was immediately engaged, and the opening of the school announced to take place on the 2. of June. On that morning the committee assembled at the master's house, the assistant usher being present, when 38 scholars were formally admitted by the master in person, and their names entered on a register, 31 of whom were resident in Berkhamstead parish, (to whom it had been agreed a preference should always be given), 4 from the adjoining parish of Northchurch, and 3 from Chesham and Winsgrave parishes, in the county of Buckingham. On being enrolled, a sum of 10s. 6d. was paid to the master in advance by the parents of each boy to be credited to his account for books, and a like sum was received by him from 14

other boys from the parishes of Nettle-dene, Chesham, and Aylesbury, whom he of himself admitted on a subsequent day. The school continued in operation for three weeks, till the period agreed on for the commencement of the summer holidays, during which short period the progress made by the boys gave general satisfaction, and redounded much to the credit of the assistant usher.

The relators and committee at last began to flatter themselves, that such a good understanding had been established as to prevent the recurrence of any further difficulties, and now directed their attention (still in concert with the master), towards the carrying of such measures through the courts, as were necessary for the substantial repair of the building, and the introduction of an act of Parliament as early as possible in the ensuing session. It was, therefore, with equal pain and surprise, that intimations of a change of purpose on the part of the master, reached them on the separation of the school for the holidays : unwilling to give credit to them without confirmation, two of the relators waited on Mr. Dupré on the 29. of June, when to their astonishment, he deliberately stated it to be his intention to recede from all the engagements into which he had so solemnly entered with the committee, and to open the school on such terms of pecuniary advantage to himself, and on such a system of instruction, as to him might seem expedient. A circular issued by him a few days after, put the matter beyond all further doubt, by which it appears that the benefit of an English education will be denied to all who refuse to pay an annual sum of five guineas, and that none will be admitted as scholars on the foundation unless resident in Berkhamstead parish, and the free instruction of these will be confined solely to the classics.

The relators and committee hesitate to characterise, as they conceive it deserves, such a deliberate violation of a most positive and solemn engagement, but their duty compels them to lay before the public a plain statement of the

above-mentioned facts, as well as the course of proceeding which they feel immediately called upon to adopt, in consequence of the evident utter impossibility of effecting by any other than legal means, however tedious and expensive, the redress of long-existing abuses.

No time has been lost in submitting a full statement of what has taken place to the visitor, the Warden of All Souls. A similar report will be forwarded to the Lord Bishop of Lincoln ; his lordship having been lately pleased to grant Mr. Dupré a license of non-residence on his living of Willoughby in Lincolnshire, in order to enable him to discharge his duties as master of this free grammar school. Petitions to the Court of Chancery will also be presented at the earliest period possible, praying such a decision from the Lord Chancellor as will leave it no longer in doubt, what kind of education ought to be afforded by an institution originally founded " that the " King's subjects might be garnished " and adorned with all kinds of good " learning," as well as " to teach grammar freely." The right of the master to limit the admission to residents in Berkhamstead, will, at the same time, be mooted. Steps are also taking with a view to prevent the master from carrying into effect the plan announced by his circular. Inasmuch as he is required to perform his duties, " without any exactation or request of money," it is conceived that he can have no right to appropriate to his own private emolument a public institution confided to his trust for a specific purpose, for the execution of which he receives a handsome salary, with many other advantages. One great end the committee have always had in view, has been not only to prevent this noble institution being any longer shut up, but also that the course of education afforded by it should be of such a character as would be of real benefit to the inhabitants of a country town like Berkhamstead, and of the neighbouring districts. They have been anxious, therefore, that the instruction here imparted should be especially suited to the sons of persons engaged as principals in various branches of trade, agriculture,

etc., and above all to prevent its sharing the fate of many large endowed schools in the kingdom, where, owing to the style of education introduced, the children of those moving in the upper walks of life, and with whom large yearly stipends are paid, have too frequently supplanted those, to whom a sound, useful education, superior to that now generally attained by such persons, would be of infinite service, while they have naturally the strongest claim in justice to the enjoyment of it. There is also every reason to believe that it was for such persons this school was formerly available.

The committee in giving this faithful narrative of the proceedings which have thus far ended in the delay of a final arrangement, to carry into execution what appears to them the intention of the founders, must leave it to the public to determine how far this disappointment can be imputed in any degree to them, because when acting with frankness and honour themselves, they would not anticipate the display of opposite qualities in those with whom they had to deal.

The committee have only further to report, that inasmuch as the present engagement with Mr. Scott, the assistant usher, cannot be dissolved, and books and stationery to a considerable amount having been purchased, it is proposed that those boys whose parents are so disposed, should avail themselves of his instruction, while the questions at issue are under legal process; and being desirous that this tuition should be afforded with as little expense as possible to the parties, who must have been subjected to some inconvenience, as well as disappointment, by the conduct of Mr. Dupré, the committee have resolved to raise the salary of the assistant usher, by private subscription, so that the scholars will have no other charge to bear than that of the necessary books.

J. CROFTS, Rector.

GRANVILLE D. RYDER.

AUGUSTUS SMITH.

J. HYDE.

R. STEELE.

HENRY LANE.  
NOAH NEWMAN.

### RUN FOR GOLD !

*Friday morning.*

I TAKE the following very important article from the *Times* of this morning. My readers will not be surprised. I have not time for comment.

Allusion was made a few days back to the circumstance of a delay in the publication of the periodical return of the assets and liabilities of the Bank of England. This return has since been made, and from its very nature and complexion it is not perhaps extremely difficult to assign the true causes of the original delay. The Bank, as was observed on the former occasion, is in the practice of making 12 returns of the state of its affairs in the year, of which eight embrace a period of four weeks, and four of five weeks each. The returns that embrace five weeks are those which are made in February, May, August, and November. The return, therefore, in last Tuesday's *Gazette* is incorrect, because it extends only to the 29. of July, and it ought to have extended to the 5. of August. Whether the blame of this faulty return rest with the Bank or the Government is not easy to determine, but if the Bank really did, in the first instance, make a return which extended only to the 29. of July, this return, in regular course, would have appeared in the *Gazette* of the 1. of August. The probability therefore is, that the Bank made out the account in the usual way, and up to the regular period of the 5. of August, in which case it might have appeared in the *Gazette* of the same evening, and at all events could not have been delayed beyond the 8. of August. But the Chancellor of the Exchequer, it is presumed, not liking the appearance of the return, sent it back to the Bank, and desired an account to be made out which should extend no further than the 29. of July, which alteration naturally delayed the publication beyond the usual period. Hence two things are wrong: first, the

publication is delayed; and when the publication is made, the account is garbled, not taking in the full regular period.

Now to assign a motive for this procedure. It is very well known, because they have frequently been adverted to of late, that very recently there have been large exportations of gold to America and other parts, and of course the later the period to which the account of the bank should extend, the greater would be the effect of this exportation in reducing the apparent stock of bullion in the bank. This may or may not be the true solution; but one thing at least is certain, that the return is false, because it is a deviation from an arrangement prescribed and settled by an act of Parliament. It is for the parties, therefore, if what we state is incorrect, to set the public right by assigning the real cause. Until they do, the belief of some such motive will prevail.

The clause in the bank charter which provides that after the 1st instant Bank of England notes shall be a legal tender, is beginning to produce the effect which was anticipated by men who had considered the subject. The country bankers being no longer obliged to pay in gold, have in many instances allowed the branches of the Bank of England to get possession of the whole, or nearly the whole, of their stock; and this gold the branch banks send up to the parent Bank, in order that the latter may be enabled to make a grand display of bullion in its official returns. But while all this is going on, and the country is gradually robbed of its gold for the purpose of sending it up to London, *if any one tenders a 50l. Bank of England note to a branch bank and asks for gold, he cannot get it, and is told that if he will bring one of their own branch notes they will give him gold, but that they cannot give gold for a Bank of England note but on payment of a premium of  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.* Thus the fact comes out, short as the time is since the clause of the act referred to has been in operation, that in many parts of the country there is already an agio on gold; and this cannot fail soon to become general.

## TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A FRIEND in the country asked me when I shall be at leisure to see him when he comes to town, and what house will suit me best. I have never any *leisure*. I am always at work or asleep. But I rise so early, and I waste so little time at meals, that except sometimes on a Wednesday or a Thursday, I can see anybody, at any time, upon any business whatever, and am always happy to give every one that applies to me the best advice, or most correct information, in my power. As to where I am to be found, that is a matter of complete uncertainty; but at Bolt-court, information as to this matter may always be had. Sometimes gentlemen call there, find me there, but *engaged*, and then they go away, naturally disliking to wait in the shop. They should not do this, if they really want to see me: for there is just opposite a very nice coffee-house and tavern called the DOCTOR JOHNSON, kept in a very excellent manner, where there is lodging and every accommodation. I have now been an observer of the conduct of the persons in this house for several years, and I venture to recommend it to gentlemen who come from the country, and who wish to live a sober and orderly life while they are here. The court itself is a remarkably clean place. Opposite the entrance of it is the great coach-office called the Bolt-in-Tun. We are situated within a step of the Temple, and other Inns of the Courts, and at only about a quarter of an hour's walk from the Royal Exchange, and at five minutes' walk from the foot of Blackfriars-Bridge.

*From the LONDON GAZETTE,*

FRIDAY, AUGUST 8, 1834.

### INSOLVENT.

MACKINNON, D., Fitzroy-street, Fitzroy-square, wine-merchant.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.  
MESSENGER, F., Liverpool, corn-merchant.

## BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

CROWTHER, W., Sans-buildings, Islington, apothecary.

## BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

DRAGE, J., Northampton, horse-dealer.

## BANKRUPTS.

ALVEN, F., Walbrook, ostrich-feather-merchant.

MASON, S., Ashby-de-la Zouch, Leicestershire, workhouse-master.

MILTON, M., Brick-street, Mayfair, Piccadilly, horse-dealer.

SKEATH, W., Davies-street, Berkeley-square, saddler.

STOCKWELL, W. jun., Bristol, basket-maker.

TARRANT, W., Bathwick, Somersetshire, coach-maker.

THOMAS, R., Wapping, potato-salesman.

THOMSON, R. and J. Dixon, Bolton-le-moors, Lancashire, iron-founders.

## SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

JAFFRAY, W., Letham, Fifeshire, grazier.

MACKAY, H., Glasgow and the West Indies, merchant.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 12.

## INSOLVENTS.

KENSINGTON, J. L., Mincing-lane, merchant.

KESTERTON, J., Camberwell, coach-builder.

SEDDON, W., Eccleston, Lancashire, flour-dealer.

## BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

BICKERDIKE, G., Huddersfield, victualler.

## BANKRUPTS.

BARNETT, J., Tottenham-street, Fitzroy-square, copper-plate-printer.

CATTARAL, W., and W. Hinde, Liverpool, drysalters.

COLVIN, A., W. A. Bazett, D. Colvin, T. Anderson, and D. Ainslie, Calcutta, Bengal, merchants.

DUNNE, J., and T. Smith, Liverpool, merchants.

ELMORE, R., Bankside, coal-merchant.

LUCAS, G., Deumark-hill, Camberwell, coach-master.

MORGAN, J., jun., Bristol, silversmith.

MORRIS, W., and W. H., Princes-street, Leicester-square, and King-street, Hammersmith, feather-dressers.

## SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

DOUGAL, W., Stirling, flesher.

DOW, A., Leith, silk-mercer.

PORTEOUS, R. and D., Haddington, iron-mongers.

## LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Aug. 11.—We have been this morning liberally supplied with Wheat from Essex and Kent, and several fresh samples arrived from Suffolk. A good proportion of the bulks consisted of new qualities, a few of Wheats were fine and in good condition, but the most part cold, and many coarse, and generally deficient in colour. The weather yesterday and to-day proving extremely fine, the trade opened without animation, at a decline of 1s. to 2s. on fine old Wheats, and 2s. to 3s. on new qualities; a fine parcel of new Essex, weighing 65½ lbs. brought only 58s.; and at the close of the market not more than 57s. could have been obtained. Fine runs of old red, realized 53s. as a top quotation. At this decline several sales were effected, but the currency finished heavily, being noted 2s. cheaper for old Wheat, and 3s. to 4s. for new samples. In bonded Wheat nothing doing on speculation, though for export a little inquiry existed at low figures.

New Rye met inquiry for seed at from 36s. to 38s.

Barley continues in very limited supply, and during the last week we have had no arrivals from England. To-day there were few samples offering, and those mostly Scotch and Irish, and some inquiry existing for grinding qualities, prices must be noted 1s. dearer than this day week. Bonded qualities meet attention and prices steady.

Malt dull at last week's improvement of 1s. to 2s. per quarter.

The supply of Oats was small, and the trade heavy, dealers and consumers exhibiting little inclination to purchase beyond their immediate wants. Free Oats, however, were held on higher terms, and purchases could not be made under an advance of 6d. to 1s. on last Monday's rates. Bonded Oats were quite neglected, and might have been bought on lower terms.

Beans came very sparingly to hand, and supported Friday's improvement of 1s. per quarter.

Peas were also scarce, and the few samples offering maintained their previous currency.

The Flour trade ruled dull, and though the top price of the best town-made remained at 47s. to 48s., yet the advanced prices of ship qualities were barely maintained.

Wheat, Essex, Kent, and Suffolk	48s. to 52s.
— White .....	50s. to 58s.
— Norfolk, Lincolnshire, } and Yorkshire.....	46s. to 54s.
— White, ditto .....	48s. to 56s.
— West Country red.....	46s. to 50s.
— White, ditto .....	52s. to 54s.
— Northumberland and }	44s. to 48s.
Berwickshire red..	44s. to 48s.
— White, ditto .....	44s. to 50s.
— Moray, Angus, and }	43s. to 46s.
Roxburgh red.....	43s. to 46s.

— White, ditto .....	48s. to 54s.
— Irish red .....	40s. to 44s.
— White, ditto .....	40s. to 45s.
Barley, Malting .....	—s. to —s.
— Chevalier .....	—s. to —s.
— Distilling .....	30s. to 32s.
— Grinding .....	28s. to 31s.
Malt, new .....	—s. to —s.
— Norfolk, pale .....	52s. to 60s.
— Ware .....	58s. to 64s.
Peas, Hog and Gray .....	36s. to 40s.
— Maple .....	40s. to 42s.
— White Boilers .....	45s. to 49s.
Beans, Small .....	34s. to 38s.
— Harrow .....	33s. to 37s.
— Tick .....	32s. to 36s.
Oats, English Feed .....	21s. to 23s.
— Short, small .....	23s. to 25s.
— Poland .....	23s. to 25s.
— Scotch, common .....	22s. to 25s.
— Potato .....	25s. to 27s.
— Berwick .....	24s. to 26s.
— Irish, Galway, &c. .....	23s. to 24s.
— Potato .....	23s. to 25s.
— Black .....	22s. to 24s.
Bran, per 16 bushels .....	11s. to 12s.
Flour, per sack .....	45s. to 48s.

## PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset .....	40s. to —s. per cwt.
— Cambridge ....	40s. to —s.
— York .....	38s. to —s.
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester	48s. to 62s.
— Single ditto....	44s. to 48s.
— Cheshire.....	54s. to 74s.
— Derby .....	50s. to 60s.
Hams, Westmoreland..	50s. to 60s.
— Cumberland ...	46s. to 56s.

## SMITHFIELD, August 11.

This day's supply of Beasts was but indifferent both as to numbers and quality; the supply of Sheep, Lambs, Calves, and, for the time of the year, Porkers, moderately good. Trade was, with each kind of prime meat, somewhat brisk; with the middling and inferior kinds dull, at fully Friday's quotations.

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*Hamburg, July, 1834.*

**H**EINE BROTHERS, in Hamburg, Contractors for the Great Lottery, published and drawn by authority of the Government, and under guarantee of the Honourable Board of Treasury of Hamburg, beg to inform, that the 64th Lottery of 12,000 Tickets will be drawn on the 1. October next, and Tickets are now selling at 113 Marks Banco, or 8*l.* 10*s.* sterling. The Prizes are:—150,000, 60,000, 30,000, 25,000, 20,000, 15,000, 10,000 marks, liable to a deduction of 14 per cent., and four of 6,000, eight of 3,000, fifteen of 2,000, twenty-five of 1,000 marks, liable to a deduction of 10 per cent., besides 1171 minor Prizes of various amounts, the smallest of which, after the deductions, leaves a net provenue of 113 Marks Banco, or 8*l.* 10*s.* sterling. 2,970 Tickets gain two Free Tickets each, and 7,770 Tickets only get nothing. Those desirous to purchase are requested to direct for full Schemes with all the particulars and for Tickets to the above-named Contractors, Heine Brothers, in Hamburg, who have no objection to receive payment for the cost of 8*l.* 10*s.* sterling per Ticket in Bank of England, Scotland, or Ireland Notes. It is recommended to address them by one of the first mails, as the Cost of the Tickets will rise very soon.